● 701 Masai FL12

[For description of the moran (warrior) societies (called sirits), which form the standing army of the Masai, including their recruitment and training, see category 561.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognised as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

621 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every [634] section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the [561] warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

614 Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, ● 701 but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whe- 614 never", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the 634 moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, *l., c.*, p. 325.

[20] HOLLIS, *l., c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kolosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general leader. [119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes. [120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-oluno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turnout of the *moran* (initiates) ". [121] MERKER, [122] and HOLLIS, [123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not epected to take part in the actual fighting; he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laigwanan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 39, " the relations between senior *laigwanak* and their juniors are very lax: It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laigwanak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laigwanan* han a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laigwanan* is present ".

[121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some unitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[130] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[130] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*emanyata* is inhabitated by the *morans* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. Cf. FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

may be from 50 to 100; and the anonymous *MS.* 46, p. 8, records that in a *manyatta* there may be from 20 to 30 huts. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *manyatta*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *MS.* 48 that each *sirit* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *manyatta*. Similarly, Fox says that each *sirit* is commanded by a captain (*il aigwenan loo sirit*), and that the *manyatta* is ruled by a special leader (*il aigwenan 'l ol poror* = the leader of the age-unis), who is at the same time the captain of his own sirit. [131]

The fact that the members of the *sirit* "as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other sirit of their *mannyata*" is emphasised by *MS.* 48, p. 3. There is no indication that the internal organisation of the *manyata* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *manyatta's* of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *manyatta's* and we also know that they unite in time of war, the juniors being trained by the seniors.

Seemingly the *sirit* division has a military function and serves to readily organise warriors for raids. MERKER, [132] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*os sirit ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to rescue his arms. [133] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

The term *sirit* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meat festival (*es sirit ol bul*). This group consists according to MERKER, [134] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel on ox-meat.

The meat festivals (*ol bul*, pl. *e buli*) are held once or twice a month;

[131] Very probably this leader of the *manyatta* is no other than the *aigwenan lol kuma orok*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aigwenan lol kuma orok* means lit. "the speaker with the black club", and *'l aigwenani 'il ol poror*, "the speaker of the age-unit".

[132] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[133] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 93: "Die Aufgabe der Gefahrten ist es, dem andern im Kampfe beizustehen und, wenn er fällt, seine Waffen in Sicherheit zu bringen". The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *MS* 48.

[134] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

527 561

they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid. [135]

701

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER, [136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*). [137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates) [138] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription. [139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal. [140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

721 701

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[135] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*el barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

[114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER, [141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he "kills many savages" (HOLLIS (a) he is called "the bull", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "the benefactor", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER, [142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "the bulls" play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight ("Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf"); "the benefactors" retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as "the Bulls" and "the Benefactors"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS, [143] when he states that "the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen*".

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

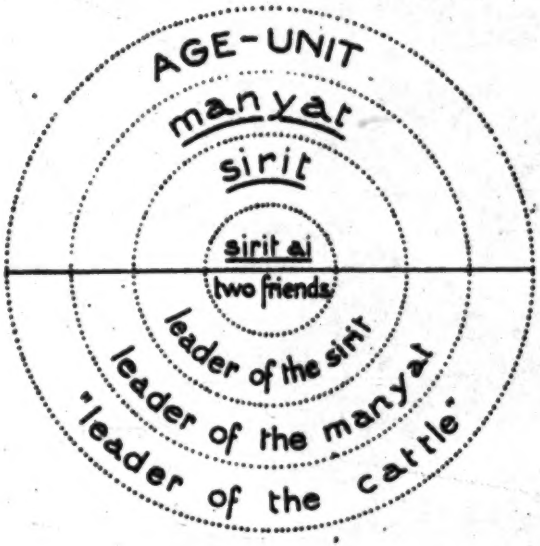
Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *aigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade. [144]

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military. [145] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description.

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[144] The relationship of the prophet, *laibon*, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter.

[145] Cf. for all others Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in its common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Counsellors " (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grade system. It consists of six senior Washili, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Washili and eighteen Waserowa wa Nrwe, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engigwana described above. The election of the Jumbe is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Muungo and three other Washili chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruka, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but at a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruka elects six Washili each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Arusha and Meru Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MBULA NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Wawutmo in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiomi), Mtemit in that of the Barabaig (Mangati), and Msungati in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,600 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiomi), has had any strong tradition of chiefship. Here the chiefdom has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chiefdom is in this case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chiefship is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wa-sungati, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefs Here bear the title of Gause or Sagochan, the Headmen that of Yabuse, Borchand or Mvitutu. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

[1] See page 288.
[2] See page 171, Chapter II.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

561 grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men,
701 roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (moran) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested
623 nominally with the Elders (laigwanak) who have passed the stage of moran,
642 and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai
701 tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to
561 enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the moran themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the moran with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

175 Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to
791 utilize the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native
623 Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

646 A further reorganization has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of moran or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

652 There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by
000 the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalize on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganization in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position three Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

142
301
302
701

[Facing p. 4]

MASAI 'MORAN'
—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881
561

francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartan* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osingoilen*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

881
561
302

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [431] [911] [914]

56
70
361

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organize the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below).

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

561

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *urisiuri*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jangienobur* and *muraregedienye*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jangienobur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jangienobur* and a *muraregedienye*, must move out together, leaving the next *jangienobur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *muraregedienye*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jangienobur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cegen-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[35] *Il-pariyotus lay*, "our swift runners"; *Il-hirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised.

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours.

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[36] It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidopi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitayio (2)	Sitayio
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masagua	Il-Masagua (1)	Il-Masagua
	Il-Mokorere	Il-Mokorere (1)	Il-Mokorere
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[continued

[35] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cagenopir*, usually shortened to *Copinish*.
[36] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[31] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

721 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-aiguenani*,
624 who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-aiguenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon
726 consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-puli* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai
727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kitey* and *il-oo-do-moyi*, "the black ox" and "the red oxen," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wuampa*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors
578 in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline
● 701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorged
[714] with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed,
728 women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

[31] Fosbrooke, pp. 15-17.

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

• 701

[For additional information on Masai warrior age-class structure, see category 561.]

/72 cont./

142
291
411
701

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the ma zehhta festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol ilgwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior kraal. But if those belonging to one ol lorfe are all married, they 561 634 are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age [791] classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol lorfe members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/74 cont./

561
• 701 The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol lamuti. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserve and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol lorbb members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol gairo (pl. ol gairo) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol lorbb, the ol oiogol. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned

291
142

Ill. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

561 with managing them. He must then take over the property himself,
• 701 and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol ŋosanikí (pl. el ŋosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy
[791] of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when
[791] the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the next name to the ol boróŋ after it has received an ol aumoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el boróri into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

561 The present (that is, -1901) youngest age class is called el gischón; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el mamurut. The latter were called el ŋgurubut el gurubut and were given the name el merututut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimér, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el meriscbo. The former, as recruits, were called el maŋguscha; after a war against Ubehe, el ŋgischaŋgob; and after the selection of the ol aumoni, el kitoib. The el meriscbo as youths were called el metaróni; after a successful war against Laikipia as el morúa, they received the name es sógon; and after the ol aumoni selection, their present name.

291 142 ← Ill. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

561 According to this, the institution of the age classes together
701 with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.
[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol olboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised
702 exchange the long apron (ol geif, el geifai) for the short skin-cape
561 (e megiti, /??/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their
[302] heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barneti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol gesed i ol gutui. Spear, shield, and sword
[411] are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect
[342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.
701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and noth-
702 ing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained
561 from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.
291
302
411
342
701
702
561
291
302
411
342

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (en giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

714
531
178
[721]
[197]

/82 cont./
nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)

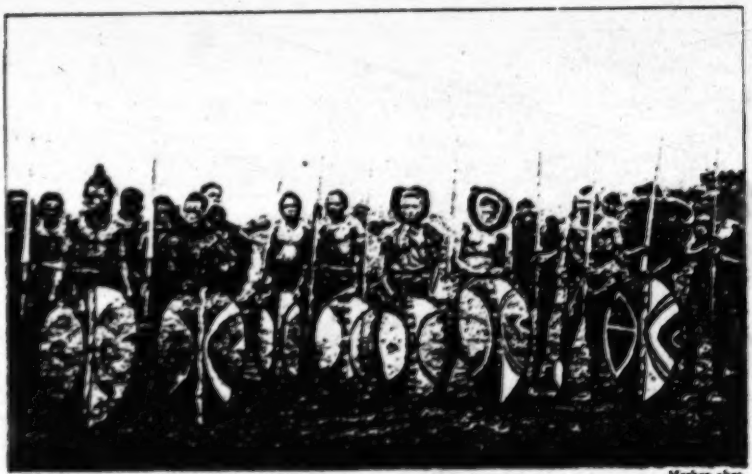
1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714
53
701
561

The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

701
714
531
411



Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear
• 70| in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem.
531 They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they
561 have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it
714 /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry,
70| and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then
531 been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff
561 that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need
578 nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the
[591] same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with
[721] all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the
70| warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have
561 brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as
[531] before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and
[714] are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which
701 quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which
[361] the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior
[634] kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342]
[513]
[423]

621 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain
701 huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle,
462 clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while
[351] the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and
[356] keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).
• 701

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881]
[848]
[842]
[847]
[834]
[833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142
301
714
→

Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.

701 262 264 [273] [276] Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 361 342 /85 cont./ **Under a shade tree with thick** foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[415] [237] [276] Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol oõni).

[251] 701 342 In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eñg adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the

701 262 264 [252] [276] slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipër. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

701
539
[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator [516] stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[692] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

[556] A special position is also occupied by the ñ gáminini = benefactors. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior Kraal]

701
578
682
[613]
[614]
[669]

/88 cont./ of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701
578
682
[613]
[614]
[669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192]
[426]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorĩn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701
574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daā e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daā e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 535 701 [836] [832] [533] knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short, stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies. As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent approaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701 535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schridings phot.

512 701 [234] [264] [272] [535] Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked, the people take the evening meal (en dáĭ e télba = food in the evening), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while

512 234 1/4 [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/90 cont./

512 [234] before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes 825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

535 • 701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast 000 of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also

[Warrior Kraal]

224 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also
• 701 leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority
726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of
714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

726 /94 cont./
782 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war. The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
726 [237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[325] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
• 701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other ge tirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eng adji en djuré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/95 cont./

726
714
411

Ill. 37. Section camp on the war march.

726 the time for the attack. /96/ The leader of the section is one of the
• [701] above-mentioned benefactors, recognizable by an ornament called
[714] ol doroglo or ol gabaño, which consists of strings of iron or glass
[431] beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

708 Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ol oibôni, ol
726 oibôi), whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

726 Toward midnight the spies (ol ogondoloni, ol ogondoloi) set out to go to Kabe. On the way they adapt their outerwear in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakabe and hide /Ill. 38 appear here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their amulets. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kabe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

727 /38 cont./
it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ekoy sikin. But
[784] even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few
[813] women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of
[577] the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march on toward the home level; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol ngomi is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit carving. It is called, for example, kirina, because men fall on both sides. Other names are kitabuk if the provisions in living Ilemamuk taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and contrary to the existing custom, had to eat cow fruit; kapkol if the
[411] [780] [891] [516] → [1103] milows suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; kapkila, formed from the call aserikirin kwo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty

Ill. 41. On picket duty.

/100 cont./

After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called oraborchage engitio — exchange of skin capes.

The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the caravan people relate ridiculous things about the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even European travelers have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the tropics. The untenableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a good bottle of water on their long migrations. The Masai, however, knows perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /104/ just as the wild honey, our infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A curious bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called ol jekunot by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[525] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteh l ol bää, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves
[539] and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of departure, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speeche: "adjogi megur' ira ol morĕni dada it' ol móran, iñora á gincha inonu, á gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa ol móran, ida tada ol móran, tabala n dogirin bĕgin el móran, ida tada ol móran"; in translations I say, you are no longer Ol morĕni, but Ol móran, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móran, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móran.
701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior
[591] kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they considered ol móran: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/111 cont./

luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el mŏran l el kŏnono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. Another Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kŏnono, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare to pronounce the word "ol kŏnono" after the onset of darkness (1).

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ol kŏnono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mbulu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ol kŏnono last evening; we have so often told you this."

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[101] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[101] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pinched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/216 cont./

687 [626] There is no special punishment for cowardice in war. The warriors, however, mock the coward in front of the girls and make him ridiculous in their eyes. One who makes anyone ill through 683 sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

681 The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the defenseless sinner and kill him with spears. For a war /217/ traitor the execution is carried out by warriors, for an arsonist, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in installments. In general their amount is not fixed for the individual offenses. In the one area this, in the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of precious livestock sicknesses or unsuccessful wars naturally lowers the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or tribe of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case: then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. [672] Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating.

[714] [701] [684] [685] A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-coiffure, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are remunerated with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy 734 672 an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in fetters the sick person who is inclined [655] toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an ol goiatiki does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

for Tanganyika.

561
181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721
181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857
233
881
561
701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[A] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[A] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
• 701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
(881) being the left hand grade. After several years the
(884) junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
44 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

Ostrichs were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the moran have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415
[264] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262
272 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
• [701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701
[562] When not fighting the warriors could carry out an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

701 [826] [252] the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden [857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually 701 562 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948:79) notes that in Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a) 562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women [843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly